

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE

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Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

Theodore Roosevelt

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT



A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

and

EXCERPTS FROM
HIS WRITINGS
AND ADDRESSES

*For the inspiration of speakers, teachers
clergymen and others engaged in
spreading the message of
true Americanism.*

DEDICATION

HE was found faithful over a few things and he was made ruler over many; he cut his own trail clean and straight and millions followed him toward the light :: He was frail; he made himself a tower of strength. He was timid; he made himself a lion of courage. He was a dreamer; he became one of the great doers of all time :: Men put their trust in him; women found a champion in him; kings stood in awe of him, but children made him their playmate :: He broke a nation's slumber with his cry, and it rose up. He touched the eyes of blind men with a flame that gave them vision. Souls became swords through him; swords became servants of God :: He was loyal to his country and he exacted loyalty; he loved many lands, but he loved his own land best :: He was terrible in battle, but tender to the weak; joyous and tireless, being free from self-pity; clean with a cleanness that cleansed the air like a gale :: His courtesy knew no wealth, no class; his friendship, no creed or color or race. His courage stood every onslaught of savage beast and ruthless man, of loneliness, of victory, of defeat. His mind was eager, his heart was true, his body and spirit, defiant of obstacles, ready to meet what might come :: He fought injustice and tyranny; bore sorrow gallantly; loved all nature, bleak spaces and hardy companions, hazardous adventure and the zest of battle. Wherever he went he carried his own pack; and in the uttermost parts of the earth he kept his conscience for his guide.



DRAWN FROM
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UNDERWOODS N.Y.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

A Biographical Sketch

By HERMANN HAGEDORN, JR.

Author of "The Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt"

This sketch was written originally for the Roosevelt Memorial Exhibition Committee of Columbia University.

I

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, twenty-sixth President of the United States, was born at 28 East 20th Street, New York City, on October 27, 1858. His father, Theodore Roosevelt, was a glass merchant, a figure in city affairs, a philanthropist widely respected and beloved; his mother, Martha Bulloch, was a woman of unusual beauty and charm, of cool good sense and passionate devotions. His father was the descendant of a long line of Dutch burghers who had been prominent in the government of their city for over two hundred years; his mother was a Southerner of Scotch blood, mingled with Irish and Huguenot-French and an infusion of German from the Rhine Palatinate. Both were aristocrats by lineage and the higher right of spiritual nobility. The Civil War, breaking upon them when Theodore the Younger was two and a half years old, turned the sympathy of one to the North; that of the other, with equal ardor, to the South; but it did not cloud the affection they held for each other or the happiness of their home.

Theodore the Younger was, from his birth, a frail boy, who suffered much from asthma and other bodily ailments. For weeks on end he was forced to keep to his bed, and the rough-and-tumble of boyhood was during his early years altogether withheld from him. He learned to read while he was still in skirts, and before he was out of the nursery age books had become companions to him and comforters in pain. His sisters, his brother and their friends were his devoted followers, who

found the stories he told them, hour after hour, altogether thrilling.

He went to school for a brief period at Professor McMullen's Academy, near Madison Square, but his health permitted him no regular schooling, and tutors and governesses gave him an uneven elementary education, which he extended and deepened by wide reading of heroic tales and natural history, of science and biography. When he was nine he was taken through Europe, but, to judge from the journal he kept, gained nothing from it except a small boy's spread-eagle homesickness for his own land. Rome, Paris, Vesuvius and the Trossachs were alike a bore to him. Another trip to Europe four years later opened his eyes. He had by that time become an ardent naturalist, and Egypt and the Continent were interesting for their birds, if not for their monuments. He spent a winter in a German family in Dresden and returned to America with an understanding of foreign lands which served to give him a real appreciation of his own. Still handicapped by his physical frailness, he prepared himself for college.

Meanwhile, he had acquired certain ideals of life and conduct which exercised a deep influence on his character. He was a notable hero-worshipper, with his father as his greatest hero then as always, and behind him the company of the heroic dead, who had become familiar to him through books. He measured himself by them, found himself wanting both in courage and physical strength, and doggedly set to work to repair the defects. He took boxing lessons, and exercised with a persistence that did not abate, in the gymnasium his father installed for him. The world of outdoors was a source of delight and adventure. His boy's love for birds and insects developed into the scientist's ardor for solid knowledge. When he went to college in the autumn of 1876, it was with the determination to become a faunal naturalist.

His years at Harvard were years of growth and joyous companionship. He studied hard, he read widely and deeply, he plunged into a dozen different undergraduate activities, from

boxing and fencing and football to acting and writing and Sunday-school teaching and discussion of art at Professor Charles Eliot Norton's. He romped one day, he wrote history the next; he made many friends; he gained a few devoted followers who prophesied great things for him; meanwhile, he grew in body and mind.

He graduated in June, 1880. Shortly after, he married Alice Lee of Chestnut Hill, who had been the radiant center of the group of boys and girls with whom he had "run" during his Harvard years. They went to Europe, where Theodore Roosevelt climbed the Matterhorn for no particular reason except that a pair of Englishmen with whom he had talked seemed to think that they were the only ones who had ever climbed it or ever would; and returned to America, more ardently American than ever, and settled in New York.

He had long given up his intention of becoming a naturalist, without, however, being able to decide what he would become. With no great enthusiasm for the law, he entered the Columbia Law School and, at the same time, the law office of his uncle, Robert Roosevelt. Meanwhile he completed a history of "The Naval War of 1812" which he had begun in college, looked about in the political world of his native city, and joined the Republican Club of the Twenty-first Assembly District.

He became a factor, if not a power, there at once, and on the initiative of a shrewd, keen-witted Irishman named "Joe" Murray, a local "boss," was nominated for the Assembly within a year, and elected.

In Albany he sprang almost at once into leadership. Before his first term was over he was a national figure, at the end of his third he was a force to be reckoned with in the Republican Party, head of his State delegation to the National Convention, the hero of young men, the hope of all who were working for the triumph of the better elements in American politics. He gained his first fame through a fearless attack on a corrupt judge whom the leaders of his own party were seeking to shelter; but the real confidence of the public he won by solid

and persistent work against odds for honest government and progressive legislation.

A personal catastrophe cut off completely and, it seemed forever, his political career. In February, 1884, his mother died suddenly. The same night his daughter Alice was born, and twelve hours later his wife died. He finished his term in the Assembly, did what he could to nominate the man of his choice at the Republican Convention in Chicago, failed, and hid himself, disheartened, on the ranch he had purchased the preceding autumn on the banks of the Little Missouri River, in Dakota.

II

FOR the two years or more that followed, the gay world of New York City, and that other complex and tumultuous world of politics through which he had passed like a cyclone, saw Theodore Roosevelt only for hurried glimpses, if at all. He had altogether resigned whatever political ambitions he might have had. He wanted to write; and he did write an entertaining book of hunter's tales, a fresh and authoritative biography of Thomas H. Benton, another of Gouverneur Morris, a volume concerning ranch-life; but these were incidental. He had bought a great herd of cattle, he had called to his side from Maine a pair of old friends and stalwart backwoodsmen named "Bill" Sewall and Will Dow; with them he had built a house which he called Elkhorn; and he was now a ranchman whose life was bounded by the circle of cares and wholesome hardships and pleasures and perils that make up a ranchman's days. The bleak and savage country and the primitive conditions of life fascinated his imagination; the hardy men who were his companions gripped his affections and held them. The "women-folk" in Maine joined their husbands and took charge of Elkhorn, and for two years made a home where the days passed in a round of manly endeavor and simple-hearted fellowship that in the memory of all who were a part of it lingered as a kind of pastoral idyll.

Working on the round-up, riding for days on end after stray cattle, hunting over the bare prairies and up the ragged peaks, Theodore Roosevelt won at last the strength of body he had set out to gain fifteen years before. He won much else—an understanding of the common man and of the West, a deeper appreciation of the meaning of democracy, a revived interest in life. His career as a ranchman came to an end in the autumn of 1886, when he went East to accept the Republican nomination for Mayor of New York.

He ran against Abram S. Hewitt, the Tammany nominee, and Henry George, the candidate of a short-lived United Labor Party, and was disastrously defeated in spite of a lively campaign. He went to Europe, and in London married the friend of his childhood, Edith Kermit Carow.

He returned with his wife to America the following Spring and moved into the new house on Sagamore Hill which he had set about to build before his departure. There he gave himself to the writing of books, notably "The Winning of the West," a history of the frontier, which was to be his greatest book. A Republican victory in 1888, however, brought him again into public affairs. He was appointed a member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission in Washington, and for six years thereafter fought the battle of civil service reform against the corrupt or foolish advocates of favoritism who still affirmed that "to the victor belong the spoils." It was a perilous position for a public man with political ambitions, for the work of the Civil Service Commission was unpopular with the leaders of both parties and to administer it ably meant to antagonize the most powerful forces in Congress. Roosevelt carried the fight into the very Cabinet of the Republican President, and even while he drew the fire of the spoilsmen won the quick applause of men near and far who admired courage and skill in combat.

A reform victory in New York City in the autumn of 1894 brought him, six months later, again to the city of his birth as President of the Police Board. The police department of the city was demoralized, favoritism and corruption were rampant,

laws were unequally enforced, and vice and crime flourished openly to the scandal of respectable citizens, who were helpless it seemed to cope with the forces of disorder. Into these Augean stables Theodore Roosevelt courageously turned the flood of his turbulent energy and cleansing love of justice. He abolished at once the system of admission and promotion by pay or influence; he stood by his men when influential wrongdoers attempted to discredit them for doing their duty. Within six months he had put new spirit into the force and brought the law once more into repute. But in so doing he had stirred the anger of the politicians of both parties and of all the sinister forces which depended for their livelihood on vice and crime. His motives were misrepresented, his methods were ridiculed, until even the orderly elements, whose battle he was fighting, turned upon him. The newspapers attacked him savagely; even his colleagues on the Police Board thwarted him where they could.

"It is a grimy struggle, but a vital one," he wrote at the time in a letter to one of his sisters. "The battle for decent government must be won by just such interminable, grimy drudgery."

III

INTO the tumult of his work on the Police Board came the rumors of impending war. Theodore Roosevelt believed with all his heart that Cuba should be freed from the intolerable yoke of Spain. He believed that only through the intervention of the United States could Cuba be thus freed. He had, ever since leaving college, preached national preparedness for war, demanding in particular the creation of an effective navy. When William McKinley, therefore, was elected President in the autumn of 1896, and offered Roosevelt the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he accepted it with frank delight. He became in the Navy Department what he had been on the Civil Service Commission and the Police Board, the moving spirit of the organization. His superior, Secretary Long,

was by inclination a pacifist who looked with distrust and some terror on Roosevelt's efforts to make the navy into a vigorous fighting force. Roosevelt utilized the brief periods when he was Acting Secretary during his chief's absence to carry forward the policy which he deemed essential to the national safety. It was by such almost surreptitious action that Dewey was provided with the coal and ships which ultimately enabled him to destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila. When the war came in April, 1898, he immediately resigned his position and offered his services to the President in raising the cavalry regiments which Congress authorized. General Alger, Secretary of War, offered him the colonelcy of one of these regiments. He refused, asking that the regiment be given to his friend Leonard Wood, a veteran of the Indian wars and at that time a surgeon in the army, with himself as lieutenant-colonel. The offer was accepted. Early in May the Rough Riders, as they were nicknamed, began to gather from all parts of the country, at San Antonio, Texas. The training was brief but thorough. Six weeks after the regiment was organized, it stood trained and equipped on the firing line outside of Santiago de Cuba.

The Rough Riders came under fire for the first time late in June, at Las Guasimas, where Roosevelt commanded first the center and later also the left wing. He revealed himself there as a brave soldier and an officer of calm judgment and qualities of leadership altogether unusual.

The battle of San Juan Hill was fought a week after the engagement at Las Guasimas. It was a small but most sanguinary battle in which, owing to the inefficiency and blundering of the commanding general, the American casualties were altogether out of proportion to the numbers engaged. The day before the battle Colonel Wood had been promoted to Brigadier General and Roosevelt had been given command of the regiment. All day, waiting for orders that did not come, he lay with his men under the galling fire of Spanish guns. One messenger after another whom he sent for orders was killed. At last, late in the afternoon, the command came to

advance. He dashed forward, conspicuous on his white horse, plunged through the line of regulars who were obstructing his path, and led his men through the tall grass up the long hill. To right and left of him men fell, and the Mauser bullets sang with the sound of ripping silk past his ears. He remained untouched. At a barbed wire fence he sprang off his horse and plunged on, his men close at his heels. He gained the first crest, pushing the Spaniards back; then another, and a third. Inspired by his cool courage the American line advanced along the whole San Juan range. At dusk the Spaniards were in full retreat on the city.

Roosevelt returned home a popular hero. The Republicans of New York State, facing defeat, recognized that in Roosevelt lay their only hope. He was nominated for Governor that autumn, and after a hot and close campaign was elected.

At Albany Roosevelt revealed himself almost at once as an able administrator, a clear-sighted judge of men and a politician of tact, skill and unswerving integrity. His own party machine was distrustful of him as a reformer who had said many hard things about party machines in the past and who had handled neither the Democratic nor the Republican organization with gloves during his battles as Police Commissioner. Roosevelt recognized that though the Republican machine under its leader, Senator Platt, might not be the ideal instrument through which he would choose to work if he could make a choice, it was a force with which he must deal if he wished to put on the statute books any progressive legislation at all. The machine dominated the Legislature and had the power completely to block the Governor if it so desired. Roosevelt, realizing that the Republican organization, however imperfect in itself, might be made the instrument of good if rightly handled, managed by tact and cajolery and sundry breakfasts with Senator Platt whenever affairs became stormy, to gain the support of the Assembly and Senate for appointments and legislative measures which the Republican members of that body would never have dreamed of passing if Roosevelt had

endeavored to swing the "big stick." More than once the issues were sharply drawn and there was a clash that threatened to disrupt the Republican Party. But in every case Roosevelt's willingness to make concessions on inessentials and his evident determination to stand firm as a rock on principles, averted what seemed inevitable disaster.

Roosevelt had meanwhile become the acknowledged leader of the progressive elements in American politics. His second annual message as Governor, delivered in January, 1900, strikingly revealed his imaginative grasp of the problems confronting the nation. A movement to make him candidate for Vice-President on the Republican ticket was started simultaneously among his political enemies in the East, who wished to shelve him, and his devoted followers in the West who sought his promotion, and gained swift headway even against his most frantic protests. He looked upon the tranquil ineffectiveness of the Vice-President's office with undisguised horror. In the Convention in June his wishes were overruled and he was forced to accept the nomination. Having accepted, he put the full force of his energy and enthusiasm into the campaign that followed, touring the country from end to end. The Republican ticket was triumphantly elected and Roosevelt settled down in Washington, with what grace he could command, to four years of dull inaction which he prophesied would leave him at their conclusion, at best, a professor of history in a second-rate college, until the end of his days.

IV

AN assassin's bullet, removing his chief from the field of action with sudden and terrible swiftness, brought Roosevelt unexpectedly into the very forefront of affairs. Six months after the second inauguration of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. He retained the Cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policies. But it was in-

evitable that his strong personality should immediately impress itself on the whole administration. Friends and opponents alike recognized that a great new dynamic force was in control. His grasp of public questions, his wide range of interests, his understanding and love for all manner of men, his tireless energy, made him at once the center of public attention and the most widely popular of American executives since Andrew Jackson. He was a forceful and persuasive speaker, and again and again, when Congress blocked his measures, won the support of the people by direct appeals. He crossed and criss-crossed the continent, meeting the American people face to face and laying his causes before them for their judgment. He had the gift of making men of all sections feel that he was peculiarly an expression of their own dreams and aspirations. He was, in fact, at home in every part of the land, and through his Northern birth, his Southern ancestry, his residence in the West and his deep understanding of the Western point of view, was peculiarly a son of the whole country.

His conduct of domestic as well as foreign affairs was fearless and vigorous. He saw clearly that the question of most vital importance before the country was the control and strict regulation of the great corporations. In the famous Northern Securities' merger he presented a test case to the Supreme Court which ultimately opened the way for the prosecution of the other great corporations which had violated the Sherman Anti-trust Law. His fight against the conservative forces of both parties on this question, and kindred matters of railroad regulation, was intensely bitter and extended throughout his period of office.

His dealings with labor were equally far-sighted and firm. He favored combinations of labor as he favored combinations of capital, but stood as firmly against lawlessness on the part of laboring men as he stood against it on the part of capitalists.

"At last," said one of the "labor men" at luncheon one day, "there is a hearing for us fellows."

"Yes," cried the President emphatically. "The White House

door, while I am here, shall swing open as easily for the labor man as for the capitalist, *and no easier.*"

He was able to settle the anthracite coal strike in October, 1902, because he understood the points of view of both sides and was known by both as a just man of solid convictions whom threats could not swerve from his determined course.

His attitude in foreign affairs, as in domestic, was frank, clear-cut and firm, being based on the same principles which governed his personal relations with his fellowmen. He treated nations when they were bullies in the same direct manner he had used with certain "bad men" in Dakota. His vigorous handling of Germany, late in 1902, met a covert challenge of the Monroe Doctrine in a manner that left nothing to the Kaiser's imagination. His hint to England on the Alaska boundary question—"Arbitrate if you want to, but there is the map"—was equally unambiguous and fruitful of international good-will. He settled the century-old Panama question by swift and decisive action on the instant when such action was needed, and was digging the Canal before his opponents in Congress had recovered from their horror at his temerity. His reputation for integrity and candor, combined with an instant readiness to act, solved more than one knotty international problem before it reached a crisis, and gave him power, when the governments of Europe found themselves impotent and afraid to intervene in the Russo-Japanese conflict, to thrust his vigorous personality between the contestants and by a liberal "knocking of heads right and left," literally to force peace.

He found the government of the United States, when he took up the reins, in the position among world powers, of a new boy in school; he left it firmly established in the first rank, admired and feared, its favor eagerly sought after, its citizenship respected in the remotest corners of the globe. In domestic affairs his impress was no less remarkable. At a critical moment in the conflict between capital and labor he was able to exercise the mediating influence which averted the

deep bitterness which that conflict had engendered in other nations, and to guide both parties away from the extremes whose final meeting place is revolution. He fought the battle of democracy against impending plutocracy; he insisted that the rights of the public to the natural resources of the country outweighed private rights, and fought men of all parties until his word prevailed and found expression in the conservation movement; above all, he kindled men and women, and especially young men, to an ardor for public service such as men had not known before in times of peace. He trumpeted the call of national and civic duty, and the conscience of the country awoke and responded.

V

THEODORE ROOSEVELT left the Presidency in March, 1909, and a month later sailed for East Africa.

There for a year he hunted big game—lion and elephant, rhinoceros, giraffe, ostrich and hippopotamus, meeting strange peoples and perilous adventures. He emerged from the jungle at Khartoum in April, 1910, to be greeted by a cheer of welcome that echoed around the world. His journey down the Nile and through Europe was a triumphal progress extraordinary in its evidence of admiration and wonder. He made formal addresses before half a dozen learned bodies, stirring up a hornet's nest in Cairo by his denunciation of a recent political assassination, another in Rome by refusing to allow his freedom of action to be circumscribed by the papal authorities, a third in London by criticizing England's government of Egypt. At Christiania he received the Nobel Prize, awarded to him the year previous for his efforts in bringing about the Peace of Portsmouth; in Berlin he reviewed, at the Kaiser's side, the crack troops of the Empire. Altogether, it was a memorable journey.

He returned to the United States to find the Party, which he had left united and vigorous after its recent victory, dis-

rupted by bitter factional strife, and slipping rapidly toward disaster. In the struggle between the progressive and the reactionary elements he could not stand to one side in dignified neutrality. He espoused the progressive cause and in the campaign of 1910 fought with all the energy that was in him for the overthrow of boss-rule in New York State. He was decisively beaten after a contest that was bitter in the extreme. His enemies shouted that he was politically dead. He withdrew to Sagamore Hill and his editorial work on the staff of the *Outlook*, and, for the moment, let his foes rejoice.

But the struggle into which he had thrown, with such seeming recklessness, the stake of his great reputation, had been scarcely checked by the mid-term defeat. He was urged to be a candidate for President on the Republican ticket against President Taft, who was backed by the party machine and the so-called "stand-patters." He did not want to make the race, and it was against his own best judgment that he was persuaded at last to enter the contest. Once in, however, he fought with his whole being. One state after another, in the primary campaign, pledged its delegates to him. But the party machine was in the hands of his enemies, and in the convention held in Chicago in June they used it relentlessly to effect his defeat. The progressives, refusing to vote, marched out of the convention hall, leaving a disgruntled majority to carry through the program of the conservative leaders. A new Progressive Party sprang into being overnight and in August, amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm, mingled with a devotion to a high cause absent hitherto from political conventions, nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President.

The ensuing campaign was fierce and rancorous. At the height of it Roosevelt was shot by a fanatic in Milwaukee as he was entering an automobile on his way to a mass-meeting he was about to address. He insisted on making his speech, went to the hospital, and after two weeks was again on his feet, campaigning. In the three-cornered election in November he polled over four million votes, but was defeated by Woodrow

Wilson, the Democratic candidate. Once more his enemies rejoiced and said that he was "done for." He took his defeat with the same good grace and humor with which he had taken victory in the past, returned to his editorial work, wrote his Autobiography, and accepted the popular verdict that he was out of politics.

In the autumn of 1913 he went to South America to address numerous learned bodies there and to make an exploring expedition into the jungles of Brazil, to which he had long looked forward. His journey from capital to capital in South America was a repetition of his triumphal progress through Europe. His plunge into the Brazilian wilderness, on the other hand, was infinitely more hazardous than the African trip. For months he and his expedition were completely out of touch with the outside world. He discovered a hitherto unknown river, vaguely indicated on existing maps as the River of Doubt, and at imminent risk of disaster explored the nine hundred miles of its course. The trip was indescribably arduous and full of peril; his life was constantly in danger in the treacherous rapids and along the fever-infested banks; savage Indians shot their poisonous arrows unseen out of the dark tangle. One after another his canoes were crushed in the rapids; one after another his men sickened. Finally he himself was laid low with fever, and for forty-eight hours was deadly ill. He pleaded with his son Kermit, who was with him, and with the Brazilian officers who had been assigned to his expedition by the government, to leave him behind and push on, in order that the whole expedition might not suffer the catastrophe which was always imminent of death by starvation. His companions refused to leave him. By a great effort of will he raised himself from his sick-bed and plunged on with them from rapids to rapids, until at last, when disaster seemed inevitable, a post on the river bank with the carved initials of some rubber trader indicated that they were on the outskirts of civilization once more. For weeks thereafter Roosevelt lay tossing

with fever on the bottom of the canoe as they drifted down the placid reaches of the river. The Brazilian government, in honor of his exploit, christened the river he had found the Rio Teodoro.

VI

HE returned to his own country in May, 1914. Three months later the World War broke out. Roosevelt saw at once that America could not remain untouched by it. He pleaded for preparedness; he pleaded for an international tribunal backed by force to execute its decrees. His pleas were met with a tumult of abuse. He did not let it swerve him from his course. When the *Lusitania* was sunk, he pleaded for instant action—not a declaration of war, but a trade embargo against Germany and open ports for the ships of the Allies. At the outbreak of the brief and inglorious war with Mexico he offered to raise a division of troops. His offer was refused. Meanwhile his demand for national preparedness began to stir the country to a sense of the gravity of his position. Domestic issues faded into the background; the questions which had split the Republican party in 1912 were superseded by other questions at the moment more vital which served to reunite the opposing groups. In the national convention of the Progressive party he was nominated for President; in the Republican party the feeling was widespread that he should be the Republican candidate also. Justice Hughes was named. Roosevelt forthwith refused the Progressive nomination and gave his support to the Republican candidate.

War with Germany came as he had prophesied it must inevitably come if the United States were to keep a shred of self-respect. He offered again to raise a division of troops. Men from all over the country volunteered their services until 250,000 men had recorded their desire to go under his leadership to France. Congress passed a bill authorizing the creation of two divisions of volunteers. The President refused

his consent. Roosevelt, forbidden to fight in the field, grimly and in bitter disappointment, accepted the decision and flung himself whole-heartedly into the work that lay at hand. During the months that followed no good cause called to him in vain. Here and there over the country he spoke for the Liberty Loan Campaigns, for the Red Cross and other relief agencies; and in the pages of the *Kansas City Star* and the *Metropolitan Magazine* fought week after week for speed in military preparation, for an honest facing of facts, for whole-hearted and unreserved participation in the war by the side of the Allies.

The fever he had contracted in Brazil returned now and again. For weeks he traveled and made public addresses in spite of it. In February, 1918, however, he became dangerously ill; was operated upon; recovered; returned to his full activity and was again laid low. His illness scarcely abated his ceaseless activity and in nowise weakened the terrifying force of his fighting spirit. In the autumn he was again forced to take to the hospital. He returned to Sagamore Hill in time to spend Christmas with his family. The inflammatory rheumatism which had caused him much pain began to give way. He seemed on the road to recovery. He made plans for a hunt after devil-fish in the spring.

From his sick-bed he fought his battle for realism and candor and directed the policy of the Republican Party, of which he was once more the recognized and undisputed leader. At midnight on January 5th he wrote a memorandum for the Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Four hours later, quietly in his sleep, with no other word, the man of many battles and much tumult slipped out of the company of living men.

He was buried on a hillside in Oyster Bay; but with new potency his spirit cried to the hearts of his countrymen.

THE SAYINGS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

AMERICANISM

WE shall never be successful over the dangers that confront us; we shall never achieve true greatness, nor reach the lofty ideal which the founders and preservers of our mighty Federal Republic have set before us, unless we are Americans in heart and soul, in spirit and purpose, keenly alive to the responsibility implied in the very name of American, and proud beyond measure of the glorious privilege of bearing it.—*American Ideals.*

If a man in good faith, in soul and in body, becomes an American, he stands on a full and entire equality with everybody else, and must be so treated, without any mental reservation, without any regard to his creed, or birthplace or descent. One obligation is just as binding as the other. It is both weak and wicked to permit any of our citizens to hold a dual or divided allegiance; and it is just as mischievous, just as un-American, to discriminate against any good American, because of his birthplace, creed or parentage.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

I want Uncle Sam to be peaceful; I want Uncle Sam to show scrupulous regard for the rights of others; but I want to see Uncle Sam owe his safety to two facts: in the first place, that he will do nothing but good to men; and, in the second place, that he will submit to wrong from no man.—*The New Nationalism.*

Love of country is an elemental virtue, like love of home, or like honesty or courage.—*American Ideals.*

Remember, friends, that foreign judgment of us depends not in the least upon what we say we can do, but upon what we can do. I hate to see an American boast in the presence of a foreigner; it exposes him and his country to laughter. It

does no good to boast that we are the greatest nation on the face of the earth; but it does help us when we do a great deed that no other nation has done.—*The New Nationalism*.

This is a new nation, based on a mighty continent, of boundless possibilities. No other nation in the world has such resources. No other nation has ever been so favored. If we dare to rise level to the opportunities offered us, our destiny will be vast beyond the power of imagination. We must master this destiny, and make it our own; and we can thus make it our own only if we, as a vigorous and separate nation, develop a great and wonderful nationality, distinctively different from any other nationality, of either the present or the past. For such a nation all of us can well afford to give up all other allegiances, and high of heart to stand, a mighty and united people, facing a future of glorious promise.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

We cannot have too many [immigrants] of the right type—the type that is right morally, physically and economically—and we should have none at all of the wrong type. We should never admit any merely because there is “need of labor”; better run short of labor than foul or dilute the body of citizenship into which our children are to enter. In practice it is not easy to apply exactly the proper tests; but fundamentally our aim should be to admit only immigrants whose grandchildren will be fit to intermarry with our grandchildren, with the grandchildren of the Americans of to-day.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

In my judgment, no man is a good American who is not, of course, an American first—an American before he is a member of any section of the American people such as a party or a class. I hold that the only real service which a party man can render his party is to make that party more responsive to the needs of the American people.—*The New Nationalism*.

Patriotism is as much a duty in time of war as in time of peace, and it is most of all a duty in any and every great crisis.

To commit folly or do evil, to act inconsiderately and hastily or wantonly and viciously, in the name of patriotism, represents not patriotism at all, but a use of the name to cloak an attack upon the thing. Such baseness or folly is wrong, at every time and on every occasion. But patriotism itself is not only in place and on every occasion and at every time, but is peculiarly the feeling which should be stirred to its deepest depths at every serious crisis.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

Patriotism, so far from being incompatible with performance of duty to other nations, is an indispensable prerequisite to doing one's duty toward other nations. Fear God; and take your own part! True patriotism carries with it not hostility to other nations but a quickened sense of responsible good-will towards other nations, a good-will of acts and not merely of words. I stand for a nationalism of duty, to one's self and to others; and, therefore, for a nationalism which is a means to internationalism.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

The Immigrant must learn that American life is incompatible with the existence of any form of anarchy and he must learn that we exact full religious toleration and the complete separation of Church and State. He must not bring in his Old-World religious race and national antipathies, but must merge them into love for our common country, and must take pride in the things which we can all take pride in. He must revere only our flag; not only must it come first, but no other flag should even come second.—*American Ideals.*

With all my heart I believe that our people have in them the same patriotism, the same nobility of soul to which Washington and Lincoln were able to appeal.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

We Americans are the children of the crucible. The crucible does not do its work unless it turns out those cast into it in one national mould; and that must be the mould established by Washington and his fellows when they made us into a na-

tion. We must be Americans; and nothing else.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I HOLD that the laws of morality which should govern individuals in their dealings one with the other are just as binding concerning nations in their dealings one with the other. The application of the moral law must be different in the two cases, because in one case it has, and in the other it has not, the sanction of a civil law with force behind it. The individual can depend for his rights upon the courts, which themselves derive their force from the police power of the state. The nation can depend upon nothing of the kind; and therefore, as things are now, it is the highest duty of the most advanced and freest peoples to keep themselves in such a state of readiness as to forbid to any barbarism or despotism the hope of arresting the progress of the world by striking down the nations that lead in that progress.—*Oxford Address.*

Unjust war is to be abhorred; but woe to the nation that does not make ready to hold its own in time of need against all who would harm it; and woe thrice over to the nation in which the average man loses the fighting edge, loses the power to serve as a soldier if the day of need should arise.—*University of Berlin Address.*

The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.—*Addresses and Messages.*

Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards, or of those too feeble or too shortsighted to deserve it; and we ask to be given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having.—*American Ideals.*

The Monroe Doctrine may be briefly defined as forbidding European encroachment on American soil. It is not desirable to define it so rigidly as to prevent our taking into account the

varying degrees of national interest in varying cases. The United States has not the slightest wish to establish a universal protectorate over other American States, or to become responsible for their misdeeds. If one of them becomes involved in an ordinary quarrel with a European power, such quarrel must be settled between them by any one of the usual methods. But no European State is to be allowed to aggrandize itself on American soil at the expense of any American State. Furthermore, no transfer of an American colony from one European State to another is to be permitted, if, in the judgment of the United States, such transfer would be hostile to its own interests.—*American Ideals*.

The surest way to prevent your boys from being food for cannon is to have them so trained, so prepared, that it will not be safe for any foreign foe to attack us. Preparedness no more invites war than fire insurance invites a fire.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

The policeman must be put back of the judge in international law just as he is back of the judge in municipal law. The effective power of civilization must be put back of civilization's collective purpose to secure reasonable justice between nation and nation.—*America and the World War*.

PREPAREDNESS

THE prime and all-important lesson to learn is that while preparedness will not guarantee a nation against war, unpreparedness eventually insures not merely war, but utter disaster.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part*.

The only permanently efficient type of defensive is the offensive.—*America and the World War*.

It is as wicked to exalt peace at the expense of morality as it is to exalt war at the expense of morality.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part*.

When a man has warned another man not to slap his wife's face, and the other man does it, the gentleman who has given the warning does not meet the situation by treating elocution as

a substitute for action.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

The blood-and-iron statesman of one nation finds in the milk-and-water statesman of another nation the man predestined through the ages to be his ally and his tool.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

There is no meaner moral attitude than that of a timid and selfish neutrality between right and wrong.—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

The navy of the United States is the right arm of the United States and is emphatically the peacemaker. Woe to our country if we permit that right arm to become palsied or even to become flabby and inefficient!—*America and the World War.*

An efficient world league for peace is as yet in the future; and it may be, although I sincerely hope not, in the far future. The indispensable thing for every free people to do in the present day is with efficiency to prepare against war by making itself able physically to defend its rights and by cultivating that stern and manly spirit without which no material preparation will avail.—*America and the World War.*

The ultrapacificists have been fond of prophesying the immediate approach of a universally peaceful condition throughout the world, which will render it unnecessary to prepare against war because there will be no more war. This represents in some cases well-meaning and pathetic folly. In other cases it represents mischievous and inexcusable folly. But it always represents folly.—*America and the World War.*

THE WAY OF PROGRESS

A GREAT democracy has got to be progressive, or it will soon cease to be either great or a democracy.—*The New Nationalism.*

Our country—this great republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to

show the best that there is in him. That is why the history of America is now the central feature of the history of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.—*The New Nationalism*.

Our effort should be to raise the level of self-respect, self-control, sense of duty in both sexes, and not to push them down to an evil equality of moral turpitude by doing away with the self-restraint and sense of obligation which have been slowly built up through the ages. We must bring them to a moral level by raising the lower standard, not by depressing the high.

—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

There is terrible evil in our social and industrial conditions to-day, and unless we recognize this fact and try resolutely to do what we can to remedy the evil, we run great risk of seeing men in their misery turn to the false teachers whose doctrines would indeed lead them to greater misery, but who do at least recognize the fact that they are now miserable.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

We Americans are only on the threshold of the campaign for a better national life. We have only begun to consider our duty toward the child; to realize that the child-drudge is apt to turn into the shiftless grown-up; to realize that the child growing up in the streets has first-class opportunities for tending toward criminality; and, therefore, that playgrounds may be as necessary as schools. We have only begun to realize that the child's mother, if wise and duty-performing, is the only citizen who deserves even more from the state than does the soldier; and that, if in need, she is entitled to help from the state, so that she may rear and care for her children at home.

—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

Not so much as the first step towards real civilization can be taken until there arises some development of the right of

private property; that is, until men pass out of the stage of savage socialism in which the violent and the thriftless forcibly constitute themselves co-heirs with the industrious and the intelligent in what the labor of the latter produces. But it is equally true that every step toward civilization is marked by a check on individualism.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

We stand for equality of opportunity, but not for equality of reward unless there is also equality of service. If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but let the reward depend on the service; and, mankind being composed as it is, there will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter how great the equality of opportunity may be; and just so long as there is inequality of service it is eminently desirable that there should be inequality of reward.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

The important thing is generally the "next step." We ought not to take it unless we are sure that it is advisable; but we should not hesitate to take it when once we *are* sure.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

CITIZENSHIP

THE leader, for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is spend and be spent. It is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind. We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men.

—*Carnegie Hall Address* (1912).

Character, in the long run, is the *decisive* factor in the life of an *individual* and of *Nations* alike.—*American Ideals*.

Not once in a thousand times is it possible to achieve anything worth achieving except by labor, by effort, by serious purpose and by the willingness to run risk. The persons who seek to persuade our people that by doing nothing, by passing resolutions that cost nothing, and by writing eloquent messages and articles that mean nothing, and by complacently applauding elocution that means less than nothing, some service is thereby rendered to humanity, are not only rendering no such service, but are weakening the spring of national character.

—*Fear God and Take Your Own Part.*

Any man who tries to excite class hatred, sectional hate, hate of creed, any kind of hatred in our community, though he may affect to do it in the interest of the class he is addressing, is in the long run with absolute certainty that class's own worst enemy. In the long run, and as a whole, we are going to go up or go down together.—*Addresses and Messages.*

No republic can permanently endure when its politics are corrupt and base; and the spoils system, the application in political life of the degrading doctrine that to the victor belong the spoils, produces corruption and degradation. The man who is in politics for the offices might just as well be in politics for the money he can get for his vote, so far as the general good is concerned.—*American Ideals.*

No nation can achieve real greatness if its people are not both essentially moral and essentially manly; both sets of qualities are necessary.—*American Ideals.*

The first requisite of good citizenship is that the man shall do the homely, every-day, humdrum duties well. A man is not a good citizen, I do not care how lofty his thoughts are about citizenship in the abstract, if in the concrete his actions do not bear them out; and it does not make much difference how high his aspirations for mankind at large may be, if he does not behave well in his own family those aspirations do not bear visible fruit. He must be a good breadwinner, he must take care of his wife and his children, he must be a neighbor whom his neighbors can trust, he must act squarely in his business

relations,—he must do all these every-day ordinary duties first, or he is not a good citizen.—*Addresses and Messages.*

I certainly cannot treat mere color as a permanent bar to holding office, any more than I could so treat creed or birth-place—always provided that in other respects the applicant or incumbent is a worthy and well-behaved American citizen. Just as little will I treat it as conferring a right to hold office. I have scant sympathy with the mere doctrinaire, with the man of mere theory who refuses to face facts; but do you not think that in the long run it is safer for everybody if we act on the motto “all men up,” rather than that of “some men down”?—*Addresses and Messages.*

American citizens must understand that they cannot advocate or acquiesce in an evil course of action and then escape responsibility for the results.—*America and the World War.*

If you elect a man because you think he will be honest towards your class,—capitalists, farmers, laborers,—and if you are indifferent as to whether he is honest towards other people, you can make up your minds absolutely that he will betray you if he gets the chance. You cannot afford not to have a man honest all the way through, because if he is not, you do not know quite where the breaking down will come.—*The New Nationalism.*

CAPITAL AND LABOR

CAPITALIST and wage-worker alike should honestly endeavor each to look at any matter from the other's standpoint, with a freedom on the one hand from the contemptible arrogance which looks down upon the man of less means, and, on the other, from the no less contemptible envy, jealousy, and rancor which hates another because he is better off. Each quality is the supplement of the other, and in point of baseness there is not the weight of a finger to choose between them.—*Addresses and Messages.*

The law is not to be administered in the interest of the poor man as such, nor yet in the interest of the rich man as such,

but in the interest of the law-abiding man, rich or poor.—*Addresses and Messages.*

This is an era of combination. Big business has come to stay. It cannot be put an end to; and if it could be put an end to, it would mean the most widespread disaster to the community. The proper thing to do is to socialize it, to moralize it, to make it more an agent for social good and to do away with everything in it that tends toward social evil. To do this there must be a wise governmental control, a governmental control that will check the corporation when it is doing wrong and check the labor union when it is doing wrong, and hold each accountable and responsible for its deeds and misdeeds, but which shall at the same time recognize that the corporation has its rights just as the union has its rights, and that each is to be encouraged as long as it does well. No great industrial well-being can come unless big business prospers.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

The worst foes of America are the foes to that orderly liberty without which our Republic must speedily perish. The reckless labor agitator who arouses the mob to riot and bloodshed is in the last analysis the most dangerous of the working-man's enemies. This man is a real peril; and so is his sympathizer, the legislator, who to catch votes denounces the judiciary and the military because they put down mobs.—*American Ideals.*

The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for working-men is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the

door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last but for one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.—*Addresses and Messages.*

We must rebuke with equal emphasis the men who can see nothing wrong in what is done by capitalists and corporations, and the other men who can see nothing wrong in what is done by labor leaders and trades unions. Moreover, it means that we must not permit ourselves to be misled by bitterness concerning wrong-doing that is past, into condoning wrong-doing of the opposite type in the present—for this is the road that leads straight down to that bottomless pit where the spirits of Robespierre and Danton find themselves in the company of the high-born tyrants whose bloody tyranny they denounced and copied.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.—*The New Nationalism.*

REALIZABLE IDEALS

NO organization can last long enough even to make a beginning in doing practical good to the people unless it is practical; and unless it actually functions instead of confining itself to manifestos and advice. Great is the persuasive power of concrete action!—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

After all, when all has been said and done, the thing that is most important is for each of us to apply, in his or her way, the old humdrum, workaday virtues; and as regards those, I know quite well that preaching does not amount to anything

unless the preaching is transmuted into practice. Your opinions depend at least as much on your actions as your actions upon your opinions. You fathers and mothers in the audience well know that if you get your children to behave in a certain fashion so that they always do tell the truth, they will formulate the theory that it is always right to tell the truth; that their actions will influence their opinions rather than their opinions their actions.—*The New Nationalism*.

The only value of words uttered or listened to comes when they are transmuted into deeds.—*The New Nationalism*.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

UNLESS the church in a mining town or factory town or railway center is a leading force in the effort to secure cleaner and more wholesome surroundings, moral and physical, for the people, unless it concerns itself with their living and working conditions, with their workshops and houses and playgrounds, with their chance to open a cleft upward into the life of full development, it has forfeited its right to the foremost place in the regard of men. By their fruits shall ye know them! We judge a man nowadays by his conduct rather than by his dogma.—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

The teachings of the New Testament are foreshadowed in Micah's verse: "What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

Do justice; and therefore fight valiantly against the armies of Germany and Turkey, for these nations in this crisis stand for the reign of Moloch and Beelzebub in this earth.

Love mercy; treat prisoners well; succor the wounded; treat every woman as if she were your sister; care for the little children, and be tender with the old and helpless.

Walk humbly; you will do so if you study the life and teachings of the Saviour.

May the God of justice and mercy have you in His keeping.

Message written for the New York Bible Society and placed in each pocket Testament given to a soldier.

The most perfect machinery of government will not keep us as a nation from destruction if there is not within us a soul. No abounding material prosperity shall avail us if our spiritual senses atrophy. The foes of our own household shall surely prevail against us unless there be in our people an inner life which finds its outward expression in a morality not very widely different from that preached by the seers and prophets of Judea when the grandeur that was Greece and the glory that was Rome still lay in the future.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

In this actual world a churchless community, a community where men have abandoned and scoff at or ignore their religious needs, is a community on the rapid down grade.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

THE SQUARE DEAL—POLITICAL AND PARTISAN HONESTY

TAKE what I mean when I speak of the "square deal." I mean not only that each man should act fairly and honestly under the rules of the game as it is now played, but I mean also that if the rules give improper advantage to some set of people, then let us change the rules of the game.—*The New Nationalism.*

According to our ability we intend to safeguard the rights of the mighty; but we intend no less jealously to safeguard the rights of the lowly. Our ideal is equal justice for all; justice alike for the rich man and the poor man who do right; and the same stern justice for the rich man and the poor man who do wrong.—*New Nationalism.*

Go back to your homes and your daily lives with the resolute purpose to war for honesty in its deepest and broadest significance both in our business and in our politics; not only for our

own sake, not only for the sake of our children who inherit the land after us, but for the sake of the peoples of the world who stand and watch this great experiment of free democracy in the West, so that their hope shall not be dead.—*The New Nationalism*.

Dishonest leadership is a curse anywhere, but nowhere is it a greater curse than in the labor movement. If there is one lesson which I would rather teach my fellow Americans than any other, it is to hound down the dishonest man—no matter what his condition—and to brush aside with impatient contempt the creature who denounces dishonesty only when it is found in some special social stratum. Hunt down the dishonest man without regard to class; and if he belongs to your class, hunt him down a little quicker.—*The New Nationalism*.

If one set of our fellow citizens is degraded, you can be absolutely certain that the degradation will spread more or less to all of us. This government is founded on the theory that "all men up" is a safer motto than "some men down." We must make it good.—*The New Nationalism*.

There are certain matters which should never be treated as party matters; and foremost among these is the great and vital virtue of honesty. Honesty should be treated as a prime necessity to our success as a nation. The minute that a question of honesty as against dishonesty is involved, then we must all act together as Americans, without the slightest regard to party affiliations. I do not care who a thief is; I regard him as a thief and not as a party man. The first man to attack a scoundrel in any party should be the man of that party.—*The New Nationalism*.

If the people of America are content to send to represent them in the state or the national legislature men who they know in their heart of hearts have not obtained their offices honestly, but have obtained their offices dishonestly and by corruption, who they know have practiced corruption in public life, they may make up their minds that they will get the government

to which they are entitled, and a bad government it will be.—*The New Nationalism.*

We entirely understand that after the best possible laws have been obtained, and after they have been enforced in the most efficient possible manner, it will yet remain true that the chief factor in each man's success or failure must be that man's individual character; but while fully recognizing this fact, we nevertheless insist that good laws and honest administration of these laws can be made to play a very real and effective part in the betterment of mankind.—*The New Nationalism.*

"THE STRENUOUS LIFE"

I WISH to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.—*The Strenuous Life.*

In peace and in war we must spend and be spent, in the endless battle for right against wrong; deeds, not words, alone shall save us.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die, and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the beauty of life. Both life and death are parts of the same great adventure. Honor, highest honor, to those who fearlessly face death for a good cause. No life is so honorable or so fruitful as such a death. Unless men are willing to fight and die for great ideals, including love of country, ideals will vanish—*The Great Adventure.*

No abundance of the milder virtues will save a nation that has lost the virile qualities. —*America and the World War.*

In the really great man there must be both the heart of gold and the temper of steel.—*America and the World War.*

American society is sound at core and this means that at bottom we, as a people, accept as the basis of sound morality not slothful ease and soft selfishness and the loud timidity that fears every species of risk and hardship, but the virile strength of manliness which clings to the ideal of stern, unflinching performance of duty, and which follows whithersoever that ideal may lead.—*America and the World War.*

Inaction is often itself the most offensive form of action.—*America and the World War.*

Courage, hard work, self-mastery, and intelligent effort are all essential to successful life.—*America and the World War.*

SERVICE

THE test of a man's worth to the community is the service he renders to it, and we cannot afford to make this test by material considerations alone.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

If there is one day when it is our duty to serve the state, there are a hundred days when it is our duty to serve our families; but we ought all of us to be ready to serve the state when the day comes. Woe unto the nation which is unable to endure in such a season; woe unto the nation whose sons shrink from making a sacrifice that only heroic natures can make.—*The New Nationalism.*

There never yet was a service worth rendering that did not entail sacrifice; and no man renders the highest service if he thinks over much of the sacrifice.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire!—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

Let the woman be trained in all the ways that will fit her for her work in peace or war. Give to man and woman equality of right; base the privilege thus secured on the service each must render; and demand from them, not identity of function, but, as a matter of obligation, the full performance of whatever

duty each can best perform.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

It is simply common sense to recognize that there is the widest inequality of service, and that therefore there must be a reasonably wide inequality of reward, if our society is to rest upon the basis of justice and wisdom.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

Bring your children up not so that they will shirk difficulties, but so that they will overcome them; not so that they will try to have a soft time of selfish ease, but so that they will have the greatest joy that comes to mankind—the satisfaction of knowing whenever the end may come, that they have led worthy lives.—*The New Nationalism.*

WOMEN AND THE HOME

THE good woman is the best of all good citizens.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

The one way to honor this indispensable woman, the wife and mother, is to insist that she be treated as the full equal of her husband.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

The qualities that make men and women eager lovers, faithful, duty-performing, hard-working husbands and wives, and wise and devoted fathers and mothers stand at the foundations of all possible social welfare, and also represent the loftiest heights of human happiness and usefulness. No other form of personal success and happiness or of individual service to the state compares with that which is represented by the love of the one man for the one woman, of their joint work as home-maker and home-keeper, and of their ability to bring up the children that are theirs.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

The primary work of the average man and the average woman—and of all exceptional men and women whose lives are to be really full and happy—must be the great primal work of home-making and home-keeping, for themselves and their children.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

It is entirely right that any woman should be allowed to make

any career for herself of which she is capable, whether or not it is a career followed by a man. She has the same right to be a lawyer, a doctor, a farmer or a storekeeper that the man has to be a poet, an explorer, a politician or a painter. There are women whose peculiar circumstances or whose peculiar attributes render it advisable that they should follow one of the professions named, just as there are men who can do most good to their fellows by following one of the careers above indicated for men.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

PEACE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

IF I must choose between righteousness and peace I choose righteousness.—*America and the World War.*

Peace treaties and arbitration treaties unbacked by force are not merely useless but mischievous in any serious crisis.—*America and the World War.*

The advocates of world-wide peace, like all reformers, should bear in mind Josh Billings's astute remark that "it is much easier to be a harmless dove than a wise serpent."—*America and the World War.*

Mere treaties, mere bits of papers, with names signed to them and with no force back of them, have proved utterly worthless for the protection of nations, and where they are the only alternatives it is not only right but necessary that each nation should arm itself so as to be able to cope with any possible foe.—*America and the World War.*

The effective workers for the peace of righteousness were men like Stein, Cavour, and Lincoln; that is, men who dreamed great dreams, but who were also pre-eminently men of action, who stood for the right, and who knew that the right would fail unless might was put behind it.—*America and the World War.*

To condemn equally might which backs right and might which overthrows right is to render positive service to wrongdoers. It is as if in private life we condemned alike both the

ponceman or white slaver whom he has arrested.—*America and the World War.*

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

THE man who continually makes new promises without living up to those he has already made, and who takes pledges which he breaks, is rightly treated as an object for contemptuous fun. The nation which behaves in like manner deserves no higher consideration.—*America and the World War.*

A treaty is a promise. It is like a promise to pay in the commercial world. Its value lies in the means provided for redeeming the promise. To make it, and not redeem it, is vicious.—*America and the World War.*

In international matters the declaration of a right, or the announcement of a worthy purpose, is not only aimless, but is a just cause for derision and may even be mischievous, if force is not put behind the right or the purpose.—*America and the World War.*

A broken promise is bad enough in private life. It is worse in the field of politics. No man is worth his salt in public life who makes on the stump a pledge which he does not keep after election; and, if he makes such a pledge and does not keep it, hunt him out of public life.—*The New Nationalism.*

CONSERVATION

CONSERVATION means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us.—*The New Nationalism.*

The nation behaves well if it treats the natural resources as assets which it must turn over to the next generation increased, and not impaired, in value; and behaves badly if it leaves the land poorer to those who come after it. That is

all I mean by the phrase, *Conservatism of natural resources*. Use them; but use them so that as far as possible our children will be richer, and not poorer, because we have lived.—*The New Nationalism*.

FARMS AND FARMERS

WE cannot permanently shape our course right on any international issue unless we are sound on the domestic issues; and this farm movement is the fundamental social issue—the one issue which is even more basic than the relations of capitalist and workingman. The farm industry cannot stop; the world is never more than a year from starvation; this great war has immensely increased the cost of living without commensurately improving the condition of the men who produce the things on which we live. Even in this country the situation has become grave.

—*The Foes of Our Own Household*.

Our object must be (1) to make the tenant farmer a landowner; (2) to eliminate as far as possible the conditions which produce the shifting, seasonal, tramp type of labor, and to give the farm laborer a permanent status, a career as a farmer, for which his school education shall fit him, and which shall open to him the chance of in the end earning the ownership in fee of his own farm; (3) to secure cooperation among the small landowners, so that their energies shall produce the best possible results; (4) by progressive taxation or in other fashion to break up and prevent the formation of great landed estates, especially in so far as they consist of unused agricultural land; (5) to make capital available for the farmers, and thereby put them more on an equality with other men engaged in business; (6) to care for the woman on the farm as much as for the man, and to eliminate the conditions which now so often tend to make her life one of gray and sterile drudgery; (7) to do this primarily through the farmer himself, but also, when necessary, by the use of the entire collective power of

the people of the country; for the welfare of the farmer is the concern of all of us.

—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

Lack of capital on the part of the farmer inevitably means soil exhaustion and therefore diminished production. The farmer who is to prosper must have capital; only the prosperous can really meet the needs of the consumer; and in this, as in every other kind of honest business, the only proper basis of success is benefit to both buyer and seller, producer and consumer.—*The Foes of Our Own Household.*

POWER OF THE PRESS

POWER always brings with it responsibility. You cannot have power to work well without having so much power as to be able to work ill, if you turn yourselves that way. The very fact that a newspaper has a great power for good means that it has also a great power for evil. I do not think that is enough. I will go further. I think that it is not enough for a newspaper man to make up his mind that he won't use the paper to debauch the public conscience; if he is neutral about good and bad and makes his profession, so far as he is able, neutral in doing good and evil, it simply becomes a profession for which you have not much use in the way of blame and not much use in the way of praise. He must have high ideals, and he must be able to get those ideals adopted by a reasonable proportion of his fellows, if the profession is to rank as high as it ought to.—*The New Nationalism.*

THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

By Hermann Hagedorn, Jr.

We are engaged in this movement for the purpose of raising a fund for a national memorial to Theodore Roosevelt. But that fund is not the goal of our labors. It is only the means of attaining that goal. The actual goal is this: to pass on to succeeding generations the inspiration of the life and character of Theodore Roosevelt.

In the memory of Theodore Roosevelt the American people have an asset whose potency for good no man can yet attempt to measure. His courage, his honesty, his candor, his readiness to face facts, his unstained manhood, his gentleness, his deep sympathy, his wide humanity, all that made the loftiness and strength and magic of Theodore Roosevelt, a heritage on which Americans for all time to come will live and feed and grow strong. No national memorial is needed to honor the man who has left such a heritage to his fellowmen. That heritage is itself his memorial. We build our monuments of granite and bronze only in order that men may be reminded, day in and day out, of the spiritual heritage which is theirs.

Workers in this campaign must remember that the American people are seeking to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Roosevelt with some material symbol, not because of what he did, but because of what he was. As a statesman his place is among the greatest America has produced; but as a man he stands with the noblest, most valiant and most appealing in all history. It is not his deeds but his qualities of character which constitute the splendor of the heritage he has left to us. It is, therefore, not his political conflicts and achievements, but his virtues as a man and a citizen which workers in the memorial movement must hold high before their fellows.

It should be the aim of every worker in this campaign to spread the knowledge of the humanity, the tenderness, the indomitable manhood that made Theodore Roosevelt what he

was. In the example which that humanity, that tenderness, that manhood offer, every man and woman, every boy and girl in America possesses a fund of inspiration and spiritual nourishment which, if wisely used, will bring to each a greater share of individual happiness and to all a nobler and stronger country. All that is needed is, through every channel of publicity available, to make known to the American people the heritage which is theirs to claim.

THE ROOSEVELT CREED

I believe in honesty, sincerity and the square deal; in making up one's mind what to do—and doing it.

I believe in fearing God and taking one's own part.

I believe in hitting the line hard when you are right.

I believe in speaking softly and carrying a big stick.

I believe in hard work and honest sport.

I believe in a sane mind in a sane body.

I believe we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Born in New York City.....	Oct.	27,	1858
Elected to Assembly, New York State.....	Nov.	8,	1881
Appointed U. S. Civil Service Commissioner..	May	7,	1889
Appointed N. Y. Police Commissioner.....	May	6,	1895
Nominated Assistant Secretary of Navy.....	April	6,	1897
Appointed Lieut. Col. First Vol. Cavalry (Rough Riders)	May	6,	1898
Elected Governor New York.....	Nov.	8,	1898
Elected Vice-President of U. S.....	Nov.	6,	1900
Succeeded McKinley as President of U. S....	Sept.	14,	1901
Elected President of U. S.....	Nov.	8,	1904
Died	Jan.	6,	1919

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- "The Winning of the West."
- "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman."
- "Life of Thomas Hart Benton."
- "Life of Gouverneur Morris."
- "Ranch Life and Hunting Trail."
- "History of New York."
- "The Wilderness Hunter."
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- "The Rough Riders."
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- "The Deer Family."
- "Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter."
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- "True Americanism."
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- "African Game Trails."
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- "Realizable Ideals."
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- "America and the World War."
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- "Foes of Our Own Household."
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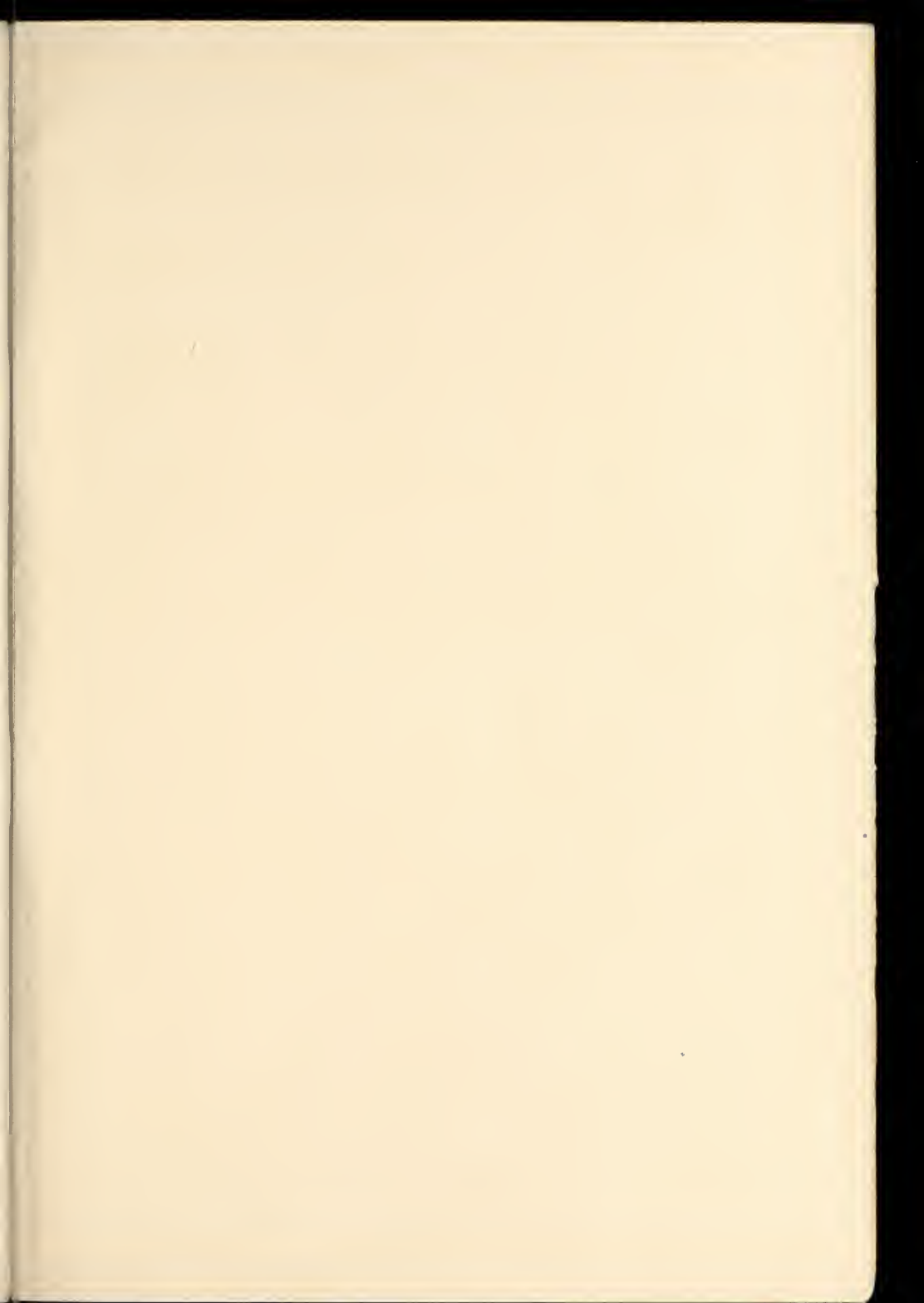
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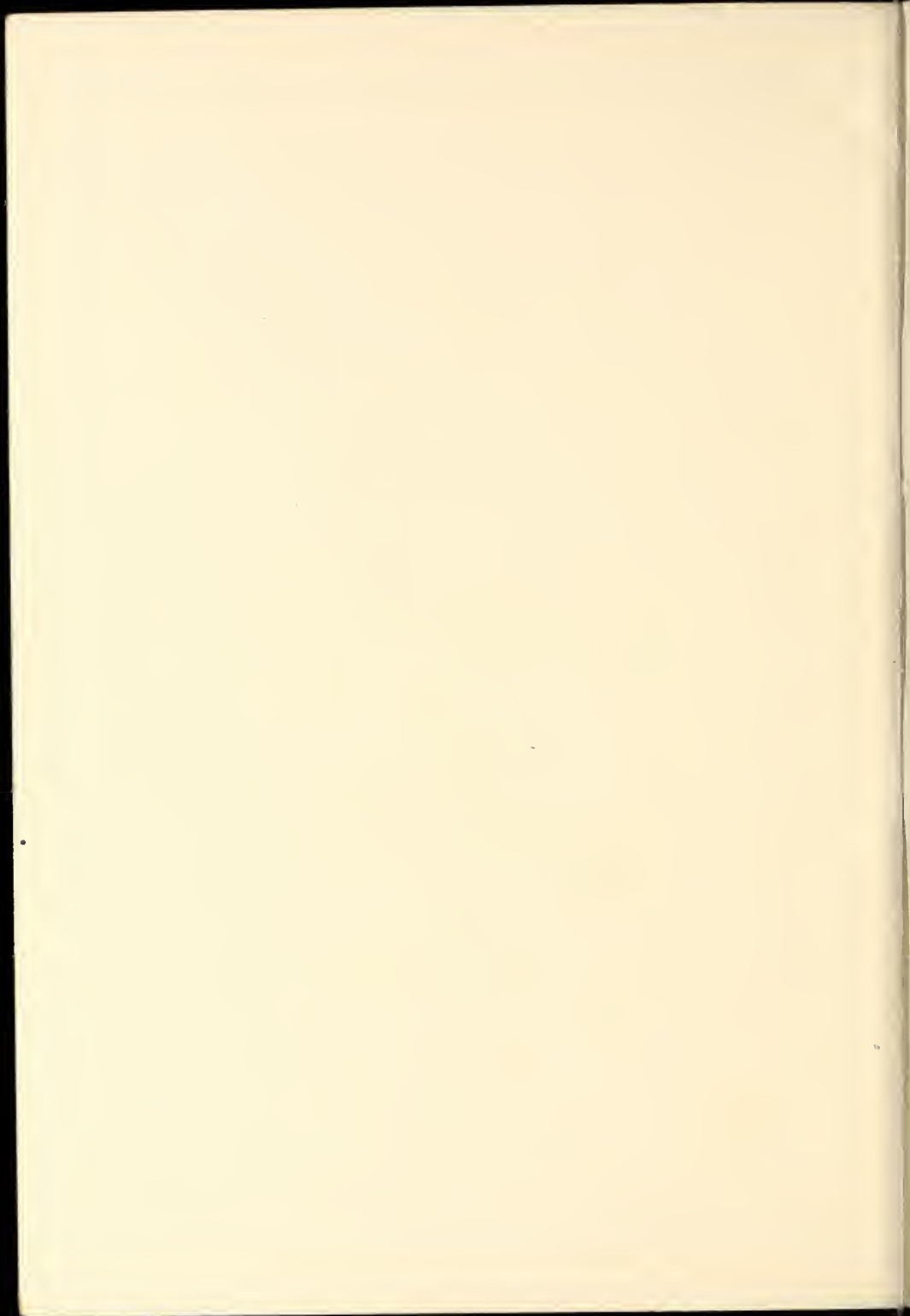
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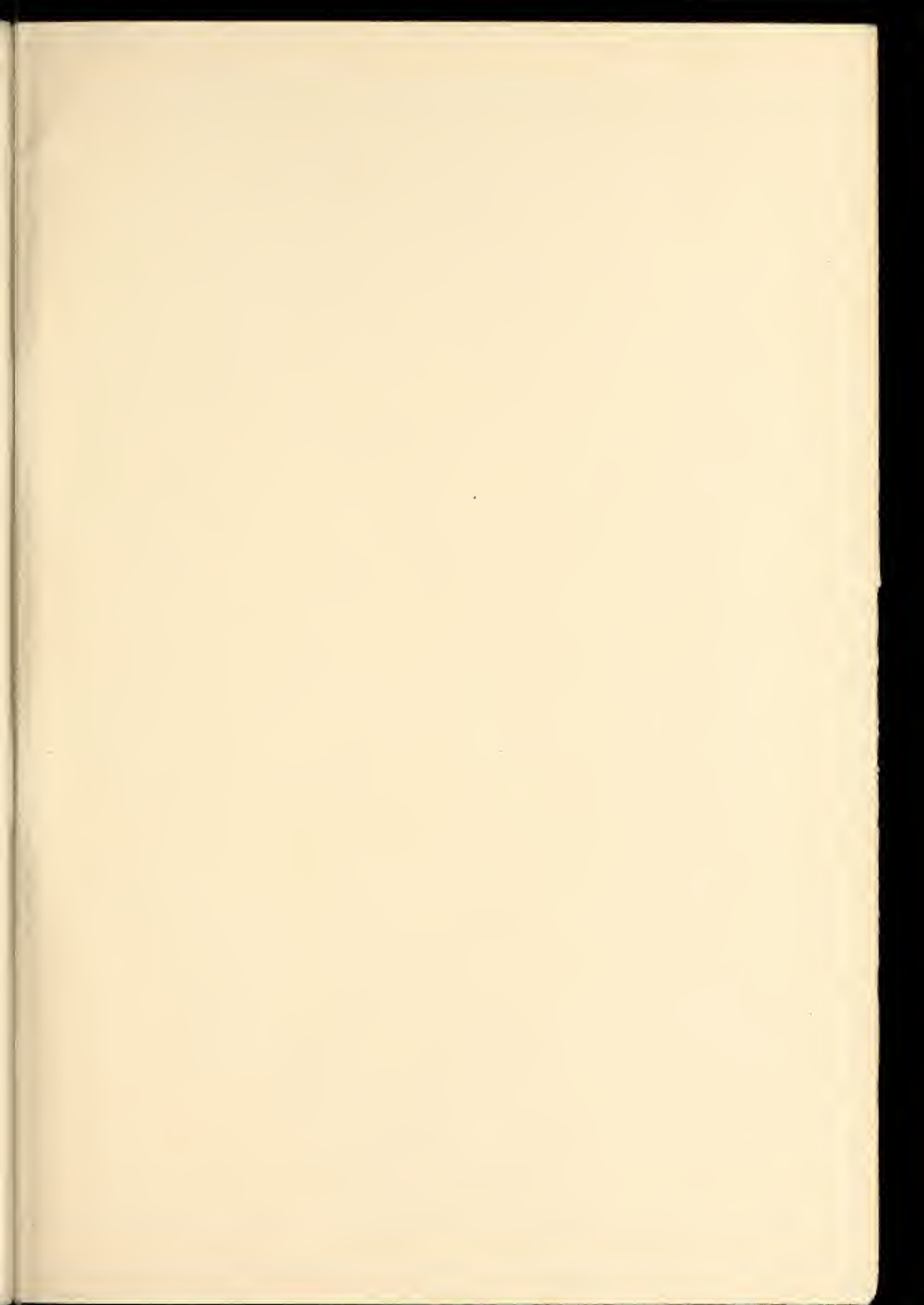
"From the Jungle Through Europe with Roosevelt," by John Callan O'Loughlin.

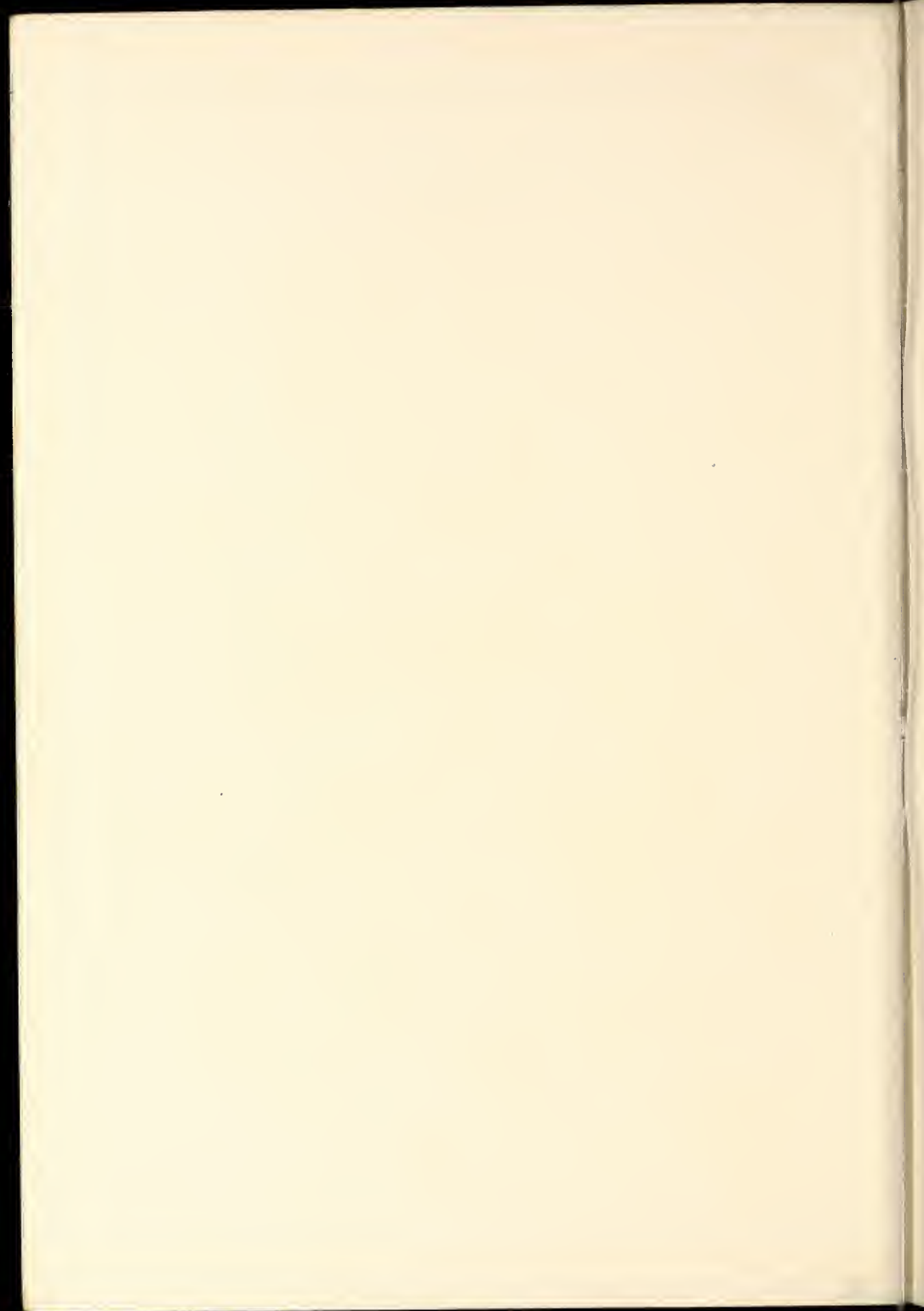
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One Madison Avenue

New York City

300

*file (Contemporaries, Roosevelt,
Theodore)*

THE RISE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

EDMUND MORRIS



COWARD, McCANN & GEOGHEGAN, INC.
NEW YORK

1979

and of course do not expect it." ²⁹ Eventually he announced that he had decided to aid the war effort in a civilian capacity, and, true to his nature, soon found a charitable cause.

Already, in these early days of war, millions of government dollars were flowing through the pockets of Union soldiers and into the hands of sutlers, who infested military camps, hawking bottles of liquor hidden in loaves of bread. The sutlers charged such exorbitant prices that their customers soon had no money left to send home to their families. It was to right this wrong that Theodore Senior set off to Washington, and, conquering his natural distaste for politics, began to lobby for remedial legislation.

With two colleagues, he drafted a bill for the appointment of unpaid Allotment Commissioners, who would visit all military camps and persuade soldiers to set aside voluntary pay deductions for the family support. This proposal, which has since become standard military practice, seemed eccentric, if not downright suspect, in 1861, as a family friend recalled many years later:

For three months they worked in Washington to secure the passage of this act—delayed by the utter inability of Congressmen to understand why anyone should urge a bill from which no one could selfishly secure an advantage. When this was passed he was appointed by President Lincoln one of the three Commissioners from this State. For long, weary months, in the depth of a hard winter, he went from camp to camp, urging the men to take advantage of this plan; on the saddle often six to eight hours a day, standing in the cold and mud as long, addressing the men and entering their names. This resulted in sending many millions of dollars to homes where it was greatly needed, kept the memory of wives and children fresh in the minds of the soldiers, and greatly improved their morale. Other States followed, and the economical results were very great.³⁰

It is significant that Theodore Junior, when he came to write his own autobiography, made no mention whatsoever of his father's role in the Civil War—his invariable practice being to leave painful memories unspoken, "until they are too dead to throb." ³¹ To serve in mufti was, in his opinion, something less than manly, and his tacit disapproval of the episode is the only indication that Theodore Senior was ever less

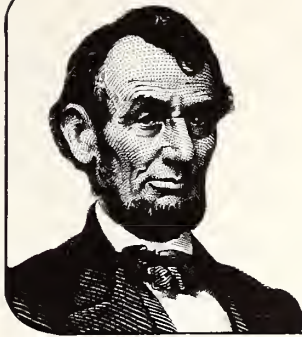
How much Teedie's asthma was aggravated by the absence of his father may be inferred from some affectionate remarks he made thirty-seven years later to Lincoln Steffens, after a steeplechase which left the reporter breathless:

Handsome dandy that he was, the thought of him now and always has been a sense of comfort. I could breathe, I could sleep, when he had me in his arms. My father—he got me breath, he got me lungs, strength—life.³⁸

When Theodore Senior finally came home, on leave of absence from Washington, the garden behind 28 East Twentieth Street was lush with summer, the children were better, and his own mood had vastly improved. He was able to tell stories of rides with President and Mrs. Lincoln, who had apparently fallen victim—as everybody did sooner or later—to his charm. The First Lady even took him shopping and asked him to choose bonnets for her.³⁹

The effect of his lusty reappearance in the household was like a tonic to his women and children. The latter especially worshiped him “as though he were a sort of benevolent Norse god.”⁴⁰ During morning prayers they would compete for the privilege of sitting in the “cubby-hole”—a favored stretch of sofa between his body and the mahogany arm. Later in the day, when he was away at work, they would wait for him on the piazza behind the house, until his key rattled in the latch and he burst upon them, laden with ice cream and peaches. He would feed the fruit to them as they lay spread-eagled on the edge of the piazza, allowing the juice to drip down into the garden. Afterward they would troop into his room to look on while he undressed, eagerly watching his pockets for the “treasures”—heavy male trinkets which he would solemnly deposit in the box on his dressing-table, or, on occasion, present to a lucky child.⁴¹ This ritual would one day be faithfully reproduced by the President of the United States before his own children.

Despite the joy Theodore Senior felt at being at home again, he lost no time in restoring paternal discipline. It was during this summer that the naughty Teedie felt for the first time the weight of his father's hand.



Lincoln Lore

May, 1980

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Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
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Number 1707

A Progressive Admiration: Theodore Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln

The Progressive Era was a great period for American historical writing. The two most learned Presidents since Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, occupied the White House in this age of reform. Both men were historians. The historical discipline was becoming more professionalized every day. With the deaths of the contemporary writers who knew Abraham Lincoln personally — William H. Herndon, Ward Hill Lamon, Isaac N. Arnold, John G. Nicolay, and John Hay — Lincoln scholarship was becoming more critical and objective. One of the masterpieces of Lincoln literature, Lord Charnwood's biography, appeared near the end of the era. A Republican and Progressive, Albert J. Beveridge, would soon bring writing on Lincoln into the mainstream of professional historical scholarship.

The greatest spur to the study of Lincoln in this period was the celebration of the centennial of his birth in 1909. To this factor, one must surely add Theodore Roosevelt's interest in the life of the Sixteenth President. It was a lifelong interest inherited from his father. Although Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., had married into a Georgia slaveholding family, he was an ardent Republican. He apparently met the President and Mrs. Lincoln while he was in Washington in 1862, working to establish a system whereby allotments for soldiers' families could be deducted from their pay before all the money went into the hands of corrupt sutlers and liquor peddlers. The elder Roosevelt served on the United States Allotment Commission in New York and performed considerable work for the common soldiers and their families. He knew Nicolay and Hay well.

Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., though a young man during the Civil War, chose to hire a substitute for his army service rather than to enlist. Some have speculated that his son later exhibited great zeal for combat out of embarrassment at his father's course during the war. The father certainly influenced the son in more direct ways. From his father, the future President gained an admiration for the Republican

party, a penchant for trying to help the common man, and a keen interest in Abraham Lincoln.

Roosevelt's view of Lincoln changed with time. Before the turn of the century, his admiration of the Sixteenth President was conventional for a budding Republican politician with a sense of history. Roosevelt considered slavery "a grossly anachronistic and un-American form of evil," and he naturally admired the man who ended it. He hated "the professional Abolitionists." They were the sort of people who always agitated about something and, in the case of slavery, they happened for once to be correct. Roosevelt thought that the ultimate extinction of slavery had been a certainty, but it might have taken another hundred years without the Civil War. In sum, he liked Lincoln's moderation.

Around the time of the Spanish-American War, when Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he had a

rather special interpretation of Lincoln's life. "I feel that in this age we do well to remember," Roosevelt told the Republican Club of New York on Lincoln's Birthday in 1898, "... that Abraham Lincoln, who prized the material prosperity of his country so much, prized her honor even more, that he was willing to jeopardize for a moment the material welfare of our citizens that in the long run her honor might be established." A jingoist critique of men who valued the stock market more than the national honor followed and was aimed at the many businessmen who had little enthusiasm for American imperialism.

Early in Roosevelt's career, Lincoln appears to have been his second choice among historical heroes. George Washington was, "not even excepting Lincoln, the very greatest man of modern times," Roosevelt told Henry Cabot Lodge in 1884. Almost a decade later, he was still describing Washington as the "greatest of Americans" and an exemplar of the sort of national greatness forged by "feats of hardihood, of daring, and of bodily prowess." Hunting in his youth had made Washington a great man.

Later in his life, Roosevelt was careful to link the two



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Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Theodore Roosevelt.

men's names in public utterances. He referred always to "the two greatest statesmen this country has ever had." He never said publicly that he preferred the one or the other. Like his friend Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt was also a great admirer of Alexander Hamilton, but Hamilton was far too anti-democratic in political sentiment to be very quotable by an active politician. Roosevelt, however, professed to see a lot of Hamiltonian Federalism in Lincoln:

He [Lincoln] seized — half unwittingly — all that was best and wisest in the tradition of Federalism; he was the true successor of the Federalist leaders; but he grafted on their system a profound belief that the great heart of the nation beat for truth, honor, and liberty.

Roosevelt despised Thomas Jefferson. He thought "the worship of Jefferson a discredit" to his country, and the more he studied Jefferson, the more profoundly he distrusted him. He was "the most incapable executive that ever filled the presidential chair," but he "did thoroughly believe in the people, just as Abraham Lincoln did." For a man who detested Jefferson, Lincoln was a crucial link to America's liberal tradition. The more liberal and reform-minded Roosevelt grew, the more interested he became in Lincoln. Neither the conservative Hamilton nor the bland Washington could supply that vital impulse.

As early as 1885, Roosevelt criticized a Supreme Court decision which favored conservative interests by referring to Lincoln's critique of the Dred Scott decision. Most often, however, it was Lincoln's practicality and moderation which appealed to Roosevelt. In 1900 he told a correspondent that, even though Lincoln was one of the two greatest Americans, he had made mistakes. Appointing Simon Cameron as Secretary of War and making General Ambrose E. Burnside commander of the Army of the Potomac were big mistakes, but Lincoln had to work with the materials at hand to achieve his goals. He could not, for example, accomplish anything by ignoring Cameron's influence in Pennsylvania. "If Lincoln had not consistently combined the ideal and the practicable," Roosevelt concluded, "the war for the union would have failed, and we would now be split in half a dozen confederacies."

When, as President of the United States, Roosevelt faced a serious anthracite coal strike in 1902, he recalled reading Nicolay and Hay's history of the Lincoln administration and took inspiration from their depiction of the Sixteenth President as a resolute man badgered by contradictory advice from extremists on both sides. What Roosevelt liked best about Lincoln in this period of his life was his strong conception of the Presidential office. Roosevelt had "a definite philosophy about the Presidency," he told Henry Cabot Lodge in 1908. "I think it should be a very powerful office, and I think the President should be a very strong man who uses without hesitation every power that the position yields." In fact, he called this the "Jackson-Lincoln theory of the presidency," and he contrasted it with "the Buchanan principle of striving to find some constitutional reason for inaction." As he neared the end of his second term in 1908, Roosevelt pointed to Washington and Lincoln as strong Presidents who acted in a disinterested way as the people's Presidents. He still mentioned Washington with Lincoln, but Lincoln was the really important figure in justifying Roosevelt's active conception of the Presidency. He had said years earlier that Lincoln "was the first who showed how a strong people might have a strong government and yet remain the freest on earth."

William Howard Taft was Roosevelt's handpicked successor, but his conception of the Presidential office was far different from Roosevelt's. The restless ex-President quickly moved into sharp opposition to Taft's brand of Republicanism. Roosevelt's view of Lincoln moved with him steadily to the left. At Ossawatimie, Kansas, in 1910, Roosevelt declared that property should be the servant and

not the master of America, and he legitimized his radical doctrine by quoting from Lincoln's first annual message to Congress:

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

At the Lincoln birthday banquet of the Republican Club of New York in 1911, Roosevelt spoke on "Abraham Lincoln and Progressive Democracy." He was no longer celebrating the moderate President Lincoln, who had mediated between the extremists during the Civil War. Now he hailed Lincoln for meeting "the problems of the present, not by refusing to use other methods than those that had solved the problems of the past, but by using the new methods necessary in order that the old principles could be applied to the new needs." This progressivism, Roosevelt insisted, made Lincoln "the real heir of George Washington."

Roosevelt still could not muster any enthusiasm for Thomas Jefferson, who inspired other liberal reformers in this era.

The founders of our Government, the men who made the Constitution and who signed the Declaration of Independence, tended to divide into two groups, those under Hamilton, who believed in a strong and efficient government, but who distrusted the people; and those under Jefferson, who did not believe in a strong or efficient government, but who in a certain sense did trust the people — although it was really distrust of them to keep the government weak. And therefore for decades we oscillated between the two tendencies, and could not develop the genuine strength that a democracy should have until Abraham Lincoln arose, until he and the men with him founded the Republican party on the union of the two ideas of combining efficient governmental force with genuine and whole-hearted trust in the people.

Roosevelt supported increasingly liberal reform ideas, including the recall of judicial decisions. In criticizing the Supreme Court, the ex-President invoked Lincoln's denunciation of the Supreme Court of Roger B. Taney and the Dred Scott decision. Roosevelt repeatedly linked his New Nationalism and his third-party candidacy for the Presidency on the Progressive ticket with the heritage of Abraham Lincoln.

All this was too much for the living link to the Sixteenth President, Robert Todd Lincoln, to swallow. Though he rarely engaged in public disputes over the meaning of his father's life, Robert, a Taft Republican, felt that he had to answer Theodore Roosevelt. The resulting public letter from Lincoln's son is a remarkable document which testifies to the changes in the Lincoln family's political beliefs over the years.

The Government under which my father lived was, as it is now, a republic, or representative democracy, checked by the Constitution which can be changed by the people, but only when acting by methods which compel deliberation and exclude so far as possible the effect of passionate and short-sighted impulse. A Government in which the checks of an established Constitution are actually, or practically omitted — one in which the people act in a mass directly on all questions and not through their chosen representatives — is an unchecked democracy, a form of Government so full of danger, as shown by history, that it has ceased to exist except in communities small and concentrated as to space. A New England town meeting may be good, but such a Government in a large City or State, would be chaos.

As I understand it, the essence of Mr. Roosevelt's proposals is that we shall adopt the latter form of Government in place of the existing form. This, in simple words, is a proposed revolution, peaceful perhaps, but a revolution.

Robert thought that such a revolution would "surely... lead to attempted dictatorships."

Robert not only disagreed politically with the form of government he thought Roosevelt was promoting but also believed that Roosevelt was in error in asserting that there were Abraham Lincoln texts which supported such doctrine. "President Lincoln," said his son, "wrote many letters, made many public addresses and was the author of many documents. I do not know of the existence in any of them of a word of censure, or of complaint of our Government, or of the methods by which it was carried on." Roosevelt's proposal for the recall of judicial decisions brought a specific response:

His [Lincoln's] attitude toward the Dred Scott decision is urged as in support of the pernicious project for the recall by popular vote, of judges and of judicial decisions. He thought it an erroneous decision, but his chief point in reference to it was not its error, but that it indicated a scheme, and was a part of it, for the nationalization of human slavery. He never suggested a change in our government under which the judges who made it should be recalled, but said that he would resist it politically by voting, if in his power, for an act prohibiting slavery in United States territories, and then endeavor to have the act sustained in a new proceeding, by the same court reversing itself.

Finally, Robert interpreted the Gettysburg Address for Roosevelt by asserting that, when Lincoln "prayed (if I may use the word) that 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth,' he meant, and could only mean, that government under which he lived, a representative government of balanced executive, legislative and judicial parts, and not something entirely different — an unchecked democracy."

The great irony, if not tragedy, of this misunderstanding between Robert T. Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt was that both men sincerely revered Abraham Lincoln's legacy and that both were quite knowledgeable about him. To be sure, Roosevelt said always that Lincoln and Washington were the greatest men our republic had produced. Even when he spoke at the dedication of Gutzon Borglum's Lincoln statue in Newark in 1912, Roosevelt complimented the people of Newark for commemorating "in fit form one of the two greatest statesmen that this country has ever had." It seems as though it was almost a political effort always to mention Lincoln and Washington together. Sectionalism may have been strong enough and Lincoln's image partisan enough still to necessitate paying homage to a Virginia hero as well.

Lincoln grew more "progressive" over the years in Roosevelt's view, and he apparently grew progressively more important for Roosevelt. In private utterances, Roosevelt seemed less reluctant to mention Lincoln without at the same time recalling Washington's memory. Close association with John Hay, who served as Secretary of State under Roosevelt, certainly increased his interest in Lincoln. After Hay's death in 1905, Roosevelt told Lyman Abbot:

John Hay's house was the only house in Washington where I continually stopped. Every Sunday on the way back from



From the Louis A. Warren
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FIGURE 2. Robert Todd Lincoln.

church I would stop and have an hour's talk with Hay. We would go over foreign affairs and public business generally, and then I would usually get him to talk to me about Lincoln — for as you know, Lincoln has always meant more to me than any other of our public men, even Washington.

That same year, Hay had sent Roosevelt a ring to wear at his inauguration as President of the United States.

DEAR THEODORE:

The hair in this ring is from the head of President Lincoln. Dr. Taft cut it off the night of the assassination and I got it from his son — a brief pedigree.

Please wear it tomorrow; you are one of the men who most thoroughly understand and appreciate Lincoln.

I have had your monogram and Lincoln's engraved on the ring.

Longas, O uitinam, bone dux, ferias Praestes Hesperiae

Yours affectionately
JOHN HAY

In Roosevelt's *Autobiography*, written in 1913 at the height of his Progressivism, he recalled Hay's gift:

John Hay was one of the most delightful of companions, one of most charming of all men of cultivation and action. Our views on foreign affairs coincided absolutely; but, as was natural enough, in domestic matters he felt much more conservative than he did in the days when as a young man he was private secretary to the great radical democratic leader of the '60's, Abraham Lincoln. . . . When I was inaugurated on March 4, 1905, I wore a ring he sent me the evening before, containing the hair of Abraham Lincoln. The ring was on my finger when the Chief Justice administered to me the oath of allegiance to the United States; I often thereafter told John Hay that when I wore such a ring on such an occasion I bound myself more than ever to treat the Constitution, after the manner of Abraham Lincoln, as a document which put human rights above property rights when the two conflicted.

Shortly before he gave his address on Lincoln in Hodgenville, Kentucky, on the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth, Roosevelt told his son, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., "Lincoln is my great hero, as you know, and I have just put my heart into this speech."

Theodore Roosevelt did much to keep Lincoln in the public eye. As Roosevelt changed over time, so did his image of the Sixteenth President. At first he celebrated the practical moderate who injected popularity into the party of strong government. Later, Roosevelt invoked the image of a radical democrat who kept the country's vital principles alive by inventive applications of them to a changed political environment. Through it all, Roosevelt's degree of interest in Lincoln grew in intensity. Even though publicly he was careful to tout Lincoln and Washington together as America's two greatest heroes, in private he admitted, "For some reason or other he [Lincoln] is to me infinitely the most real of the dead Presidents." Washington gained only a sort of obligatory fealty from Roosevelt. He never engaged Roosevelt's rhetorical attention as Lincoln did. Theodore Roosevelt admired Washington as a statue, but he admired Lincoln as a man.

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by Mary Jane Hubler

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Lincoln Memorial University Press/(Device)/Winter, 1979/ Vol. 81, No. 4/ Lincoln Herald/A Magazine devoted to historical/research in the field of Lincolniana and/the Civil War, and to the promotion/of Lincoln Ideals in American/Education./ [Harrogate, Tenn.]

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MELLON, JAMES 1979-24

The Face Of/Lincoln/Compiled and Edited by/James Mellon/A Studio Book • The Viking Press • New York/[Copyright 1979 by Viking Penguin Inc. All rights reserved. First published in 1979 by The Viking Press.]

Book, cloth, 14 3/4" x 11 9/16", fr., 201 (7) pp., chapter identification in text, illus., price, \$75.00. Autographed copy by author.

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Sale Number 4315/Important Lincolniana/With Other American Historical/And Financial/Autograph Letters And Documents/The Roy P. Crocker Historical Document Collection/of the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association/ Sold By Order Of The Board Of Directors/Donald W. Crocker, President/Exhibition/Friday, November 23, 1979, to Tuesday, November 27.../Galleries open.../and Monday.../Public Auction/Wednesday, November 28, 1979, at 10:15 a.m. and 2 p.m./Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. 980 Madison Avenue, New York NY 10021/212-472-3400 Book Department: 472-3592/[Printed by Cosmos Press, New York City, New York. Published by Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. Photographs by Sotheby Parke Bernet Photography Dept.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9 1/4" x 8 3/4", (68) pp., illus.

STEWART, BARBARA AND DWIGHT

1979-26

(Device) The (Device)/Lincoln/Diddle/by/Barbara and Dwight/Stewart/William Morrow And Company, Inc./New York 1979 [Copyright 1979 by Barbara Stewart and Dwight Stewart. All rights reserved. First edition.]

Book, cloth, 8 1/2" x 5 1/4", 251 (1) pp., price, \$8.95.

LOUIS A. WARREN LINCOLN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE

1979-27

Lincoln Lore/Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor./Mary Jane

Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the/Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801./Number 1697, July 1979 to Number 1702, December 1979.

Folder, paper, 11" x 8 1/2", 4pp., illus. Number 1697, The Abraham Lincoln Association, July 1979; Number 1698, Jack Tar And Abe Lincoln: How The Sailors Voted In '64, August 1979; Number 1699, Lincoln's Springfield Friends: Friends Of The Negro, September 1979; Number 1700, The Last Life Portrait Of Lincoln, October 1979; Number 1701, Lincoln, The Mexican War, And Springfield's Veterans, November 1979; Number 1702, Index for 1979, December 1979.

1980

BURGESS, LARRY E., DR.

1980-1

Caught In The Middle:/Lincoln And The/Smith Brothers Case/By Dr. Larry E. Burgess, Archivist/Head Of Special Collections/A.K. Smiley Public Library/Redlands, California/(Three staggered portraits of: Sumner facing right; Lincoln facing right; and Welles facing left)/February

10, 1980/A Keepsake/Lincoln Memorial Shrine/Redlands, California/(Cover title)/[Printed at the Beacon Printery, Redlands, California.]

Pamphlet, paper, 8 1/2" x 5 7/16", 7 (1) pp., printing on outside back cover. No. 262 of limited edition of 500 copies.

FARRAR, FLETCHER, JR.

1980-2

Illinois February 8-14, 1980 25¢/Times Downstate Illinois' Weekly Newspaper/Demythologizing Lincoln/The Illinoisan Nobody Knows/(Photograph of a Lincoln bust by Volk surrounded and admired by children)/Courtesy National Park Service/Volume 5, Number 20 Schoolchildren get a feel for Lincoln while park ranger Peter Gibbons looks on./What Should/Springfield/Tell Tourists?/P. 4/A Historian/On Myth &/A Great Man/P. 8/The Fight/Over Lincoln's/New Salem/P. 14/ Would Lincoln join/the Abraham Lincoln Association?/ P. 12/(Cover title)/[Copyright 1980 by Illinois Times Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in any form without permission prohibited.]

Pamphlet, paper, 16 1/2" x 11 3/4", 27 (1) pp., illus., price, \$0.25.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY 1980-3

Illinois/History/Volume 33/Number 5/February 1980/ Abraham Lincoln/To Rise in Life — Riding/the Eighth Circuit — By the/Light of the Moon — Lincoln,/the Politician — Arrival in/Galesburg — The Campaign/of 1860 — Three Minutes at/Gettysburg — Tried by the/Press — Minority President/(Illustration of bas-relief Pickett plaque)/ Abraham Lincoln/(Cover title)/[Copyright 1980 by the Illinois State Historical Society. Published by the Illinois State Historical Society in cooperation with the Illinois State Historical Society, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62706.]

Pamphlet, flexible boards, 9 15/16" x 7 1/4", 99-119 pp., illus., price, 25¢.

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

(1980)-4

A Guide to/Starting a/Lincoln Library/(Caption title)/[Published in (1980) by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.]

Pamphlet, paper, 6 3/16" x 3 5/16", (12) pp., colored illustrations [one on inside back cover]. Form 16426.

